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CONGRESSIONAL.

ADDRESS OF MR. WILSON,
OF TENNESSEE.

On the Admission of California to the Union.
The House being in Committee of the Whole (Mr. RICHARDSON, of Illinois, in the chair) on the President's California message, Mr. WILSON said:

Mr. Chairman, I have watched the progress of this debate with an anxiety proportioned to the magnitude of the subject involved. I feel that the consequences of the decision of this body will be felt by the people of the United States for many years to come. I feel that the decision of this body will be felt by the people of the United States for many years to come.

For the first two months of our session, it seemed as if we were upon a sea of troubles, without a star or compass to guide our course. Beginning our session with a series of warring contentions, all somewhat sectional in character, we were followed by a storm of passions, and threats by members, until the spirit of discord, evoked during the session, seemed likely to reign forever in our councils. Happily for ourselves, for our country, and for the world, this storm of passions, and threats by members, until the spirit of discord, evoked during the session, seemed likely to reign forever in our councils.

United by the links of force with their more powerful neighbors, they have struggled for years, amid famine, war, and pestilence, a curse to themselves and an eye-sore to their oppressors. We should profit by their example, and always remember that national ties, as well as those connecting individuals, must be the result of love and interest, or they will prove sources of sorrow and disquiet to all within their influence.

It is matter of astonishment to me that the white and democratic North, the members of the true national party, do not perceive the danger of leaving these territorial questions open for another canvass before the people. It is as clear as the noonday sun, that unless this agitation shall be quieted in some reasonable time, they will both be engulfed in the abyss of abolitionism. This party is aggressive in its character, new in its organization, and resting its basis apparently on religion and morality. The party questions which formerly separated the two national parties have nearly ceased their force, and the only real reasons which remain are those of race and color.

The vast extent of Texas, the indebtedness of its State government, the restlessness of the people of New Mexico under her dominion, the extensive and thinly-peopled wastes of Utah and New Mexico, the need of territorial governments and federal protection, and the rising wealth, glory, and population of California, demanding immediately a State government, are all considerations which enable us to see in our hands by Providence, ready to be applied joined together in one harmonious whole, for their own proper advancement and the tranquility of the republic.

With a view to the final adjustment of these questions, two plans have been presented to the House. The first, familiarly known as that of the President, contemplates the immediate admission of California, with no further action as to Territories, until they are ready to claim admission as States. The second, known as the "joint resolution," contemplates the immediate admission of California, the creation of territorial governments in Utah and New Mexico, without restriction as to slavery, and the acknowledgment of the boundaries of Texas, with a moneyed compensation to the United States.

There are, in my opinion, insuperable objections to the first of these two systems; foremost among which is the great fact, that it does not accomplish one main object of the President's policy, to wit, the admission of California, without restriction as to slavery. No plan which does not accomplish this object, can be said to be a real solution of the problem. It is only necessary to recur to the masses of the people in all sections of the Union, and we are regarded as national and statesman-like in its character. As evidence of this, we need only refer to the masses of the people in all sections of the Union, and we are regarded as national and statesman-like in its character.

It is true, Mr. Chairman, that the feeling of the South is a very real one, and that the feeling of the North is a very real one. But her action is a necessary element in any compromise that insures the safety of our institutions; and therefore, however just or comprehensive any arrangement might otherwise be deemed, if it does not give her a proper satisfaction, it is utterly failed of one-half of its object.

The refusal of any civil government to the people resident in the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, until they are ready to form State governments, is another consideration of great importance. It is a full and complete denial of the rights of the people of these Territories, representing, in glowing language, their sufferings from the want of a governor, courts of justice, an organized militia, and the other attendant benefits arising from a well-regulated system of government. They are denied the right to elect their own representatives, and are surrounded by hostile tribes of Indians, presided over by a military governor, and wholly unable to combine for their own protection, or the better regulation of their domestic concerns. If they are not satisfied with this situation, they will be forced to rebel, but an open violation of our treaty stipulations with Mexico for their defense and protection as citizens of the Union.

It is true, as stated by the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Tilden], that the President's action, in the present session of Congress authorizing the formation of State governments for these new Territories, and their admission into the Union so soon as they should have completed the preparatory requisites for an incorporation into the Union, is a very wise and judicious policy. But, for its final completion, during all which time they would be helpless and unprotected; and who can say that even then they would have the requisite population for an admission, or that their local pecuniary resources would enable them to assemble at any convenient place for legislation, or bear the heavy expense incident to all State governments?

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"LIBERTY, THE UNION, AND THE CONSTITUTION."

W. W. LUTHER, Editor.

Worse than all this, a military officer of the United States, even without any apparent authority from his own government, or action of the people of California, undertook to call a convention and prescribe the time and terms of its meeting. These are all certainly matters of serious weight against sanctioning the action of the California convention, and would, under different circumstances, perhaps insure its rejection; but there is no *prima facie* reason for its rejection, for we should accept neither host nor cold, food and moisture, are fast passing the foundation of this whole superstructure, and, unless this decay is arrested, will, in a few years, leave our splendid Capitol but one heap of ruins. May God avert the omen as to our Union.

The only safeguard for our confederacy is the speedy and entire removal of all the irritating causes of agitation and discussion between the North and the South. If we would insure our preservation, we must never endanger it by neglect, and then trust to the strong arm of power for the maintenance of our institutions. My examination of the history of the world has long since satisfied my mind, that all forced unions are but continued scenes of bloody oppression. We have now in the history of modern Europe two memorable examples of the truth of this assertion, and they are but the exemplification of a truth co-existent with time itself. Unfortunately Poland still more wretchedly lurching have presented to our sorrowful vision.

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